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ABSTRACT

Analysis of the search for selecting a president and a dean for a small women's college in the midwest showed how affirmative action goals, coupled with standard career expectations, damage female candidates. Reasons for failure to select a woman for either post included: (1) the tendency to compare women with women and men with men in the early stages of the search, rather than matching all candidates against the job requirements; (2) male vitae establish patterns against which female vitae appear deviant; (3) late emergence of unannounced criteria, after review of candidates' vitae, deflects search committee attention from candidates' fulfillment of announced criteria; (4) since the emergent criteria are credentials, they devalue the credentials of female finalists; and (5) the presumption that "having performed a function" means "having performed it well" operates in favor of male candidates because male credentials have become the standard. Recommendations for affirmative action include: look for evidence of "doing" rather than "being"; avoid developing last-minute criteria for the post; write job descriptions in terms of competencies, rather than "positions held"; check candidates by personal contacts; write final recommendations in terms of initial criteria; and read the research the candidates have done. (KC)

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Women's Vitae and the Problem of Perceiving Competence

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Despite 10 years of accelerating efforts to secure equal opportunity in employment for all Americans, employment patterns have scarcely changed. Employing institutions now look for, but seldom find, "qualified" members of minority groups. The absence of "qualifications" particularly affects candidates for managerial and administrative posts. With few exceptions, those hired to determine the incomes and direct the energies of others are white Anglo-Saxon Protestant males. Women, the wealthiest, most numerous, and presumably best qualified (by educational background and membership in privileged classes) among the minorities, have made disproportionately little progress.

Exceptions to white male rule are few, especially in academia, where current practices provide models for future achievements. In 1977, the Women's Equity Action League noted the following about the status of women in American universities and colleges:

> Women are paid about four-fifths as much as men with the same job titles at the same type of institutions.
>
> Of the key administrative positions at all institutions surveyed, 79 percent were held by white men. White women held 14 percent, minority men 5 percent, and minority women 2 percent.

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> The only administrative job in which both females and males, whites and minority groups members had a balanced representation was that of "affirmative action officer."
>
> Among affirmative action officers, men are paid more than women.

Even at women's colleges, where 52 percent of administrative jobs go to women, the WEAL data show, "white men hold more than two-thirds of the chief executive and top level positions."[1]

Neither affirmative action policies, nor standardized national search procedures, nor the growing number of women applying for jobs have altered these patterns, either at the managerial level or on the professorial levels from which academic administrators are often drawn. This study focuses on a midwestern women's college where "no qualified woman" has become a search committee litany — whether the committee regarded itself as "hoping to find a woman," or disclaimed such goals as did this search committee chairman:

> We agreed...that we wanted the best possible candidate regardless of anything — galactic origin, chromosome count, dietary habits...*

We offer this analysis of the factors leading to one institution's failure to find "qualified" women suggesting that, since this institution follows a typical pattern, the factors might be typical. We offer our

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[1] WEAL Fund Report, "Facts About Women in Higher Education," July, 1977, pp. 9-10.

* Final report from Search Committee for Dean of the Faculty, September, 1977. The search committee chairman quoted here is obviously not a feminist (nor a scientist?) but 5 of the 10 members on the committee he chaired, however, consciously described themselves as feminist; 2 of the non-feminists were women.

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suggestions for avoiding the effects of such bias in hope that we may help members of other search committees, especially committees for the 60 percent of women's colleges (75 of 125) now headed by males,[2] not only in finding qualified women but in finding the qualified women who are truly the best persons for the jobs.

The institution in question has double reason to look with special favor on female candidates, first, because the college affirmative action record has been publicly acknowledged as poor, and, second, because the institution commits itself to provide women students with competent, successful women as role models.

Indications of the college's intent and apparent commitment are visible. During the five-year period (1973/74 - 1977/78) covered by this study, the college has initiated a women's studies program, established a faculty-trustee committee on women's education, adopted the goal of "affirming the dignity and equality of women through employment policies and appointments,"[3] and consistently followed affirmative action search procedures. Most of its search committees have consciously sought female candidates.

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[2] Program No. 120: "College Today: Women's Colleges," Part Two, Options in Education transcript, May 15, 1978, p. 11. (Options in Education: a co-production of National Public Radio and the Institute for Educational Leadership of the George Washington University.)

[3] First in list of five goals in the college's document on implementation of its mission, May 3, 1977.

During the same five-year period, after national searches, the college has replaced a male president with a male, a male dean of faculty with a male, a male director of admissions with a male, a female library director with a male, and two male department chairmen with two male department chairmen. Because the institution also replaced one female administrator (dean of students) with a female administrator, following a national search, and because it promoted female faculty from within, it had achieved by the end of the period almost exact conformity to the WEAL average, with two-thirds of its chief executive and top level administrative positions occupied by males.[4] The WEAL statistics also show that in colleges and universities, generally, "women occupy seven out of the eight lowest paid professional positions on campus, including such posts as book store manager, registrar, and director of student housing." So typical is this college of national trends that the book store manager, the registrar, and the director of student housing are indeed female.

The gap between policy and practice at this women's college, a gap reflecting patterns identified by WEAL, has prompted this study of a sample of search procedures.

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[4] The college's June, 1978 annual Title IX report sums up the situation at the end of the period:

> While we made every reasonable effort to attract women and members of minorities as candidates for our positions, we did not make much headway. Faculty positions were filled by the appointment of four men and four women. Administrative appointments resulted in the appointment of two women and one man.... No members of minority groups were appointed to academic positions.

In this study, we focus specifically on the searches for two major posts, the presidency (1974/75) and the deanship (1977/78), and add supplementary information about intervening searches. We analyzed the job descriptions, the vitae submitted, and the process of selection of final candidates.

Profile of the college. This midwestern college for women offers the B.A. degree in liberal arts and career training programs and the B.F.A. degree in selected studio and performing arts. Over the five-year period covered here its enrollment declined from 1841 to 1642 residential students. Its faculty numbered 152.41 full-time equivalents at the beginning of the period, 143.95 full-time equivalents by the end. The male-female ratio of faculty over the same period was as follows:

	Women		Men	
	Full-Time	Part-Time	Full-Time	Part-Time
1973/74	60	26	81	10
1977/78	65	17	75	2

When part-time faculty are counted as full-time equivalents, these figures give the college the approximately 50/50 mix of male and female faculty typical of women's colleges as a whole. (In hiring replacement faculty during the period the college chose 37 women and 35 men.)

Likewise typical, in its disproportion, is the ratio of females to males on the tenured faculty -- 28 females to 42 males, the proportion of part-time females to part-time males -- 2 to 17, and the salary differentials. In 1975-76, the only year for which figures are available, 70 percent of the full-time women faculty earned salaries below the median faculty income.

The college is directed by a self-perpetuating board of trustees, comprising a male chairman, 11 women and 23 men in 73/74 and 18 women and 24 men in 1977/78. At the top executive level during this period the structure shifted from one directed by a male president and two male vice-presidents to one directed by one male president, two female vice-presidents and three male vice-presidents. Below the vice-presidential level in 1973/74 the college had four female officers -- an assistant to the president, a dean of women, an assistant dean of women and a registrar -- and three male officers -- the academic dean, the assistant academic dean, and the dean of admissions. In 1977/78 performing the same duties, it had three female and one male officers; one female and one male associate dean, a female assistant dean of students and a female registrar. At the lowest managerial level, that of department chair, the proportion of 16 men to 5 women remained relatively constant over the five-year period.

One can see in the figures above some evidence of a consistent effort on the part of the board of trustees, the administration, and the faculty to improve the status of women at the institution and to give prominence to that effort. One does not see evidence of substantive change in the basic nature of women's status. Significantly, all but one

of the women (the vice-president and dean of students) at the enlarged top executive level were promoted from within the institution. With that one exception, national searches resulted in the hiring of male administrators. Were there no qualified female applicants or did some factor in the search processes limit perception of competence in women?

The searches. Similarities in the results of the two major searches we analyzed are particularly remarkable in view of the differences in the actual search procedures. The two searches differed in:

1. the make-up of the committees
2. the details and emphases of the job descriptions
3. the methods of searching
4. the proportions of male and female vitae considered (38 male to 47 female for the presidential committee, 95 male to 29 female for the dean's committee)
5. the number and proportion of candidates interviewed on campus (two females and one male for the presidential search committee, two females and three males for the dean's search committee)

Nevertheless, in each search special efforts were made to identify female candidates and a balanced number of male and female candidates were selected for interview (five women and five men for the presidential search; seven women and five men for the dean's search). The search committees used similar means of soliciting campus reactions to the finalists and similar numerically-weighted voting procedures for determining their final recommendations. Both committees submitted the name of one woman and one man to the appointing body and in both cases a highly favored female candidate lost in the final decision to a male who became a serious contender only late in the search process.

Only two faculty members, one elected and one appointed, sat on the presidential search committee. The remainder of the committee, all appointed, included five members of the board of trustees, two alumnae representatives, and two students. The committee comprised seven females and four males.

The committee for the dean's search had eight faculty appointees and two student appointees, for a total of six females and four males. No representatives of the trustees or of the administration sat with the dean's search committee.

Copies of the job descriptions for the two posts are attached. Each was developed by the respective committee, with advice from administrative officers. The descriptions differ noticeably in two aspects: 1) the degree of specificity in identifying the functions of the office, and 2) the degree of commitment to women candidates. The job description for the presidency concentrated on qualities of person: a strong background, proven competence, and "the ability to inspire financial support, an aptitude for determining goals and initiating change, and, above all, a commitment to the basic philosophy of women's education and development." (emphases ours) The description for the dean's job concentrates on credentials and functions: an earned doctorate, teaching experience, a record of academic achievement, and successful administrative achievement — as qualifications for articulating and implementing goals, planning academic programs, supervising a budget.

The presidential search committee stressed its interest in women candidates, first by announcing a search for "the best possible candidate, hopefully a woman," and second by citing as the most significant qualification

for the job, "a commitment to the basic philosophy of women's education and development." The dean's committee, while it scrupulously employed a slashed pronoun (s/he) and characterized the college as an equal opportunity employer, made no reference to the particular desirability for female candidates, nor to the need for some commitment to women's education; certain faculty members on the dean's search committee, however, systematically questioned candidates about their interest in women's education.

The differing methods whereby the two committees conducted their searches further illustrate their difference in focus. The dean's committee depended primarily on advertisements in professional publications, notably in The Chronicle of Higher Education. In addition, it wrote to selected women's colleges and to two professional organizations requesting nominees. Almost all of the 124 vitae it considered were responses to advertisements.

The presidential search committee, because of the nature of the post it was trying to fill, avoided open advertisement. It did, however, make special efforts to identify qualified females. The committee relied on two sources for identifying potential presidents. The first was the college constituency itself. The chairman of the search committee circulated the job description to all members of the college community — trustees, faculty, alumnae, students — asking for nominations. The committee received some 30 nominations responding to this effort, names of 27 women and 3 men.

The presidential search committee depended also on the services of the Academy for Educational Development, a consulting firm hired by the board of trustees. This group maintains files of administrators interested in changing positions. It served the search committee by supplying names, searching for others, contacting nominees to determine their interest in the post, and in some instances rating the interested parties A or B as appropriate candidates. In all, the presidential committee received some 200 names through its various sources, considered 165 of these, and expressed enough interest for the AED to provide background data on 85 in standardized vita form. The AED reported these several special efforts at finding female nominees:[5]

1. Conversations with Dr. Lily Hornig of the Higher Education Resource Services at Brown University. (Specially funded project to identify women for higher administrative positions.)

2. Contacts with presidents of outstanding women's colleges for suggestions, i.e., Mount Holyoke, Wellesley, etc.

3. Conferences with outstanding women educators for their suggestions, i.e., Juanita Kreps, Polly Bunting, etc.

4. Discussions with women leaders of national foundations, i.e., Laura Bornholt of the Lily Foundation, etc.

5. Telephone interviews with leaders of women's groups, Provost Sheila Tobias of Wesleyan, Marilyn Gittell, City University, Bernice Sandler, AAC, etc.

6. Contacts with 19 national professional organizations, in some instances directly, in other cases, through women's caucuses and committees.

7. Discussions with samplings of outstanding educators across the U.S. to get a national input.

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[5] Letter from Academy for Educational Development, Inc., Dec. 2, 1974.

Thus we see that the presidential committee's efforts at finding a woman were considerably more intensive than the dean's committee's efforts. The differences noted above in job descriptions (particularly the contrasting emphasis on knowledge of women's education), in methods of search, and in intent of the committee probably account for the striking difference in the number and proportion of female vitae examined by the two committees. The 48 women's and 37 men's vitae considered by the presidential committee represented potential rather than actual candidates, whereas the 29 women's and 95 men's vitae presented to the dean's committee represented actual candidates.

It is all the more striking, therefore, that both committees, making comparative judgments based on background data, ended with nearly balanced numbers of avowed male and female candidates for interviewing (5 to 5, 5 to 7, respectively.)* The finalists selected (two females and one male by the presidential committee, two females and three males by the dean's committee) may reflect the differences in emphases with which they began. Still, each committee submitted the names of one man and one woman to the appointing body and a male was selected. The board of trustees chose a male president; the president chose a male dean. Neither appointee showed any evidence of ever having concerned himself with issues in women's education.

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* It is true that many of the female nominees in which the presidential committee expressed interested declined to be considered. This factor did not, however, prevent the committee from selecting a balanced number of willing candidates for interviewing.

Such consequences following such efforts speak with particular poignancy of the problems facing female candidates for administrative posts in academia. One might expect being a woman, especially a woman with a record of interest in women's education, as many of the female candidates were, to constitute exceptional qualification to a women's college dedicated to "affirming the dignity and equality of women through employment policies and appointments." One might suspect personal perfidy or institutional bad faith as the final explanation of the results. Discussions and interviews with committee members, however, indicate that while perfidy and bad faith may have played their roles in the selection process, the women's chances were consistently damaged by evaluation of their credentials, the same credentials that brought them forward into finalist positions.

Examination of the vitae submitted for the two searches indicated that differences in the candidates' current positions, background fields, non-academic civic and professional responsibilities, and in relationships to their institutions create distinctly different career patterns. Characteristic differences between male and female career patterns, particularly as these differences were reflected in curriculum vitae, constituted a built-in bias prejudicial to women candidates. At two crucial stages during review of vitae and during final review of candidates, our research shows that competence became equated with the masculine career pattern itself, an equation rendering "qualified woman" a contradiction in terms and ensuring the defeat of affirmative action goals.

Presidential search: The vitae. The 47 women's and 38 men's vitae examined by the presidential search committee represented individuals ranging in age from 30 to 67. Those at either end of the range were women; the two vitae listing no age were women's. By decades, male and female ages compared as follows:

Age Distribution, Presidential Nominees

	Male		Female	
60's	1	3%	3	6%
50's	16	42%	15	32%
40's	16	42%	22	47%
30's	5	13%	5	11%
No age	0		2	4%

Thus approximately 85 percent of the men and 80 percent of the women were in their 40's and 50's.

This relative balance in ages, however, contrasts sharply with the highest position held* by the individuals either at the time or during the two years before their names were submitted:

Highest Positions Held, Presidential Nominees

	Male			Female		
Top Executive						
President	21	55%	68%	4	8.5%	11%
Vice-president	5			1		
Academic Officers						
Dean	4		21%	7		55%
Associate dean	0			4		
Assistant dean	0			1		
Department chairman	4			2		
Professorial ranks	0			12		

* One problem facing those attempting to interpret curriculum vitae, be they searchers or researchers, is the current inflation of academic titles; a provost may be anything from the top executive officer in a large university system to someone who does something helpful in the admissions office. To the extent possible, we have standardized titles by function.

	Male		Female	
Collateral Academic	1	2%	8	17%
Non-academic	3	8%	8	17%

Though there were approximately 10 percent more male nominees than female in the fifties, and 5 percent more female nominees than male in the forties, these age differences scarcely account for the greater than 50 percent difference in nominees in the top two academic positions. Nor does it explain why comparatively many of the women held positions outside the direct academic line or outside academia altogether. (Outside areas for women were educational organizations and governmental offices; for men, educational organizations, government, and business.) What does seem to account for the preponderance of females from these subordinate posts is the preponderance of males at the top: nearly 70 percent of the men had experience either as presidents or vice-presidents while only 11 percent of the women had held such posts. Nearly 75 percent of the women had not attained in the academic ranks the level of academic dean, though many (17 percent) had moved into collateral academic areas.*

Logically, one would expect this impressive difference in background positions to be explained by background data, that women held fewer degrees than men or took longer to complete them. The actual difference, however, was not significant and women held the larger percentage of doctorates:

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* Such as dean of students, director of continuing education, director of research, etc.

Highest Degree Held, Presidential Nominees

	Male		Female	
Doctorate	29	76%	41	87%
D.D.	1	3%	0	
J.D.	5	13%	0	
M.A.	3	8%	6	13%

What does seem significant here is the non-Ph.D. pattern among the men. The five J.D.'s, the D.D., and two of the three M.A.'s were college presidents. One of the presidents held only a J.D. degree, three held only bachelor's in addition to the J.D. Among the women holding only M.A. degrees, one was a college president, one a government official, three professors, and one a research director. An interesting variation does show up in the degree completion pattern, but it doesn't seem to explain the discrepancies in positions held.

Omitting M.A.'s, one finds that 71 percent of the women but only 52 percent of the men completed their background preparation within 10 years:

Period of Time Between B.A. and Ph.D. Completion

	Male		Female	
1-5 years	8	23%	4	11%
6-10 years	10	29%	23	61%
11-15 years	14	40%	3	8%
16-20 years	2	6%	4	11%
20+ years	1	3%	4	11%

Thus it would seem that the length of time required for completing one's education was not a significant deterrent for at least 71 percent of the women, although it may have been for the 21 percent who took 16 or more years to complete their training.

Especially in light of the advantage legal and religious training seems to give men, background fields may be a more significant factor. The 38 men held 48 degrees (not including M.A.'s in Ph.D. fields) in 14 fields; the 47 women held 53 degrees in 22 fields. Of the 48 degrees held by men, 36, or 75 percent of the total, were in six fields. political science, religion, education, law, English, and history. Only 23, or 45 percent of the women's degrees, were in these fields:

Predominating Background Fields, Presidential Nominees

	Male	Female
Political science	8	5
Religion	8	1
Education	7	9
Law	5	0
English	5	4
History	3	4

Political science, law, and religion account for 43 percent of the men's degrees, 12 of the women's.

The degree fields of women, like their current positions, show a greater diversity than those of men. Sixty-two percent of the women's degrees were in fields represented on men's vitae, the remaining 37 percent were in fields such as art history, economics, zoology, anthropology, and German. Only two degrees were in fields such as home economics and

physical education where women customarily are expected to be leaders of women. Nine of the women's degrees, however, but only three of the men's, were in psychology, counseling and social work, fields which, along with education, are generally considered to be the helping professions.

Twenty-four percent of the men (9) and 11 percent of the women (5) listed degrees in two or more fields. Again, in view of the value of degrees in political science, law, and religion for attaining college presidencies, it is instructive to look at the pattern:

Degree Combinations, Presidential Nominees

Male	Female
1. political science/law	1. political science/education
2. classics/law	2. psychology/education
3. classics/law/religion	3. English/education
4. political science/religion	4. German/education
5. philosophy/religion	5. psychology/sociology
6. political science/psychology/ education/religion	
7. journalism/education	
8. history/education	
9. French/English	

In addition to showing different patterns in terms of positions held, degree completion, and background fields, the men's and women's vitae showed a different distribution of non-academic civic and professional responsibilities:

Non-academic Civic and Professional Responsibilities

	Male		Female	
Trusteeships (school & college)	10	10%	9	11%
Directorships (funds, foundations, businesses, etc.)	23	24%	7	9%
Consultantships	12	12%	21	26%

	Male		Female	
Office in Educational Organization	14	14%	8	10%
Office in Professional Association	8	8%	16	20%
Membership in Commission	11	11%	8	10%
Civic Organizations	16	16%	6	7%
Salaried employment in government and business	4	4%	6	7%

Thus, 47 women listed 81 responsibilities; 38 men listed 98. Of particular note are the relative numbers of directorships to consultantships, with men directing and women advising. These relationships become more interesting when one notes the difference in nature of the organizations being directed and advised. The seven directorships listed for women include five for scholarship funds and educational foundations, two for health and welfare organizations. The men's directorships include ten educational foundations and scholarship funds, but also include two banks (one federal reserve), two investment funds, a hospital, a crime commission, a housing investment group, a television station, and three "booster" organizations for regional development.

The women's consultantships include 12 for educational organizations and funds, 3 for businesses, 5 for government, and 1 for the National Science Foundation. The men's include 6 for educational organizations and funds (2 concerned with financing higher education, 1 for the American Bankers Association, 4 for government) including a "little" Hoover" commission, and a police department.

Another dramatic differentiation lies in the number and types of civic organizations listed. The six organizations mentioned by women include feminists' organizations, a U.N. association, a political party, and a religious organization. The 16 civic associations listed by men include local school boards, religious organizations, regional development organizations, political organizations and positions in family services, human relations, child guidance, and environmental affairs. Whereas women show the greatest diversity in educational background, men show the greatest diversity in outside activities, activities often showing civic concern in the areas which are women's professional fields.

When one examines the full range of civic and professional responsibilities on the women's vitae for anything concerned with business, finance, governmental or community decision making (as opposed to education and social service), one finds six entries — four consultantships and a professional position with the American Bar Association and one with Army Logistics. Men list 31 such associations. Conversely, when one looks at the men's vitae for evidence of concern for women's education and for family service, one finds five listings, a trusteeship, a directorship, an office in an education organization, and offices in civic organizations; in this category the 16 entries for women show that even in matters pertaining to women, women are more likely to advise than to direct.

Career patterns. In addition to showing different distributions of academic positions, background fields and non-academic responsibilities, the men's and women's vitae show different career patterns. Judging from the vitae presented for this search, two types of career patterns lead to presidencies for men in academia.* The first leads up through the academic ranks, then through the ranks of academic administration, ultimately to a presidential post (full professor, to chairman, to assistant dean of arts and sciences, etc.). Forty-eight percent (18) of the vitae reflected this pattern, including those of 9 presidents, 3 vice-presidents, 2 deans and 4 chairs; 7 of these held degrees in political science, 2 held degrees in religion. This pattern is generally associated with large colleges and universities.

The second pattern sidesteps the academic ranks. Individuals show early entry into the collateral lines of academic administration, as assistant deans of men, public relations officers, assistants to presidents, and the like, often before completing their formal education. They have little or no college teaching. Unlike vitae in the first group, these frequently show brief periods of service in national or regional educational organizations. This pattern is more frequently associated with small colleges. Forty-two percent of the men's vitae followed this pattern: these include 11 for college presidents, a vice-president, a dean, a director of religion, a government official and an officer in an educational organization. Nine of these vitae show training in political science, law, and religion. Along with education degrees,

* Excluding Catholic schools, which are not represented in this sample.

degrees in these fields often seem to accompany a conscious intent to become a college president. There is no evidence, for example, that any of the men holding degrees in law or divinity had ever practiced or ever preached; six had never taught.

Several of the men whose careers followed one of the two patterns mentioned above had been presidents of more than one institution. Only three of the men's vitae did not conform to either pattern. Two of those followed a pattern more characteristic of the women's vitae, with a period of time spent in the professorial ranks, followed by a shift into collateral administration or employment in an educational organization. (One man, an automobile company executive, listed no academic experience of any kind.)

Few of the women's vitae reflected the two major career patterns described above. Only two of the women's careers had followed the first male pattern, direct movement through the academic ranks; one of these was a president, one a dean. Four had followed the second male pattern, going directly into lower levels of collateral administration with little (two) or no (two) college teaching, and with brief periods of work for educational organizations. These included a president, a vice-president, an assistant to the president, and a dean of student affairs.

More characteristic of the women's vitae was the pattern mentioned earlier (for two male candidates) of progress through the professorial ranks followed by a shift into either academic or, more frequently, collateral administration, followed, often, by employment in an educational organization. Thirty-two (68 percent) of the women's vitae reflected such a pattern.

A significant differentiation among these 32 vitae, however, was the relationship shown to employing institutions. Thirteen (41 percent) showed a pattern of frequent shifting of employing institution. Individuals changed positions regularly, changed rank with each shift, and moved from teaching to administration, to outside organizations, to higher administration. Of these women four were or later became college presidents, two were academic deans, three held collateral academic posts, one was in government and one held an office in an educational organization, one directed an institute and one was a department chair.

Nineteen of the women (40 percent) showed a career pattern in direct contrast to the zig-zagging pattern above. Each had spent a significant proportion of her professional life in the academic and administrative ranks of a single institution, to the extent that the institution effectively sponsored her career; of these, one later became a college president, two were doing special research projects for the sponsoring institution, one was an officer in an educational organization, eight held minor deanships (two collateral, two academic), two were department chairs and seven were professors.

The career patterns of the professors, department chairs, and academic deans in this latter group might be regarded as truncated approximations of the male career pattern pursued by moving through the academic ranks. Twenty-one percent of the men also showed a pattern of systematic promotion within a single institution. But the similarity in ages for all men and women, the relatively shorter times that the men spent in a single institution, and the subsequent pattern of success for the men suggest that institutional zig-zagging is a surer route to presidency for a woman than progress through the ranks of a single institution.

Five of the women's vitae manifested a particularly eclectic pattern, combining what began as a career in college teaching with a wide variety of enterprises in government, business, politics, community development and research. All but one of these had a national reputation for leadership but none had actual experience in college administration. Two other women had moved directly from lower level teaching assignments to offices in educational and governmental organizations.

The most striking difference to emerge from this comparative study of men's and women's vitae is the contrast between the singularly direct courses of the men's careers and the great diversity of patterns among the women's. Despite the fact that most of the men took longer to complete their education than most of the women did, the men progressed from a small number of background fields through two clearly differentiated paths to top academic positions, simultaneously engaging in a variety of supplementary activities, frequently entailing financial and community decision making. The women came from a large diversity of background fields and followed widely variant paths in pursuing their careers, many making frequent abrupt shifts in professional orientation. Women's supplementary activities, except for the one group following highly eclectic career patterns, showed a close connection to their professional lives and involved little financial or community decision making.

Examination of the career patterns of the 10 candidates selected for interviewing illustrates these distinctions:

Career Patterns, Presidential Finalists

	Male	Female
Ages	34-52	42-54
Positions	President Vice-president in-charge Vice-president for dev. Officer, education org. Dean of business school	Dean of arts and sciences Dean of students Officer, education org. Grants director Department chair
Fields	political science/ religion (2) political science law/religion economics	political science (2) geography anthropology history
Non-academic responsibilities	corporate directorships foundation work political parties educational organizations religious organizations professional groups regional development work trusteeships	educational organizations professional associations fund directorships consultantships
Career patterns	Academic ladder (2) Collateral ladder (3)	institutional sponsorship (2) zigzag (3)

Information about marital status was not consistently enough reported on the general vitae to draw a valid differentiation. Among those interviewed, however, there was a distinct pattern; all of the men either were or had been married; three of the women had not, two were or had been.

None of the men and only one woman among the interviewees showed any background of interest in women's education; all of the men and two of the women had had substantial experience with academic budgets.

The dean's search: The vitae. The patterns reflected by vitae submitted to the dean's search committee varied in several significant ways from the patterns that emerged from the presidential search vitae. By far the most significant reason for the variations appears to have been the difference between methods used for the search. Vitae reviewed by the presidential committee represented men and women who were in some sense nominated. Either their names had been submitted by members of the college constituencies or they had been considered appropriate by the Academy for Educational Development. Candidates did not apply; at most, they "made known their willingness to serve." Though several seemed rather over- or under-qualified for the post, in each instance someone other than the person named on the vita had judged that person a potential president.

Candidates for the dean's position were almost exclusively self-selected. In consequence, the male candidates, who outnumbered females by a ratio of nearly three to one, were also frequently younger men who had spent relatively less time completing their degrees, and who had applied from relatively lower positions in the academic ranks. All but one of the candidates held the earned doctorate stipulated as a requirement for the position. Respecting other qualifications, women appear to have been more self-critical in deeming themselves prepared for the post.

Among applicants listing their ages on the vitae, most were in their 40's or 50's, as were the nominees for the presidency. However, a substantially larger number of males than females in their 30's applied.

Age Distribution, Dean Applicants

	Male*		Female	
60's	0		1	5%
50's	29	38%	5	23%
40's	25	32%	10	45%
30's	22	29%	4	18%
20's	1	1%	2	9%
	77		22	

These men had moved relatively quickly through their degree programs.

Years Between Completion of B.A. and Ph.D. Degrees

	Male		Female	
1-5	16	21%	3	12%
6-10	35	45%	8	31%
11-15	19	25%	11	42%
16-20	4	5%	2	8%
20+	3	4%	2	8%
	77		26	

But they had not moved equally quickly through the academic ranks. The differentiation between positions held by male applicants and those held by female applicants is impressive:

Highest Positions Held, Dean Applicants

Top Executive	Male		Female	
President	2		0	
Vice-president	1	3%	1	3%

* Information presented on vitae for the dean's search was not in standardized form. Percentages in the following table are based on the total number of vitae listing the type of information tabulated.

	Male		Female	
Academic Officers				
Dean	17	18%	4	14%
Associate dean	2	17%	5	31%
Assistant dean	5		2	
Division chair	3		0	
Program director	6		2	
Department chair	23	24%	2	7%
Professor	18	19%	3	10%
	Full 8 Assoc.3 Asst. 7		Full 1 Assoc.1 Asst. 1	
Collateral Academic*	11	12%	7	24%
Non-academic	7	7%	3	10%
	95		29	

A startling 43 percent of the male applicants came from the ranks of professor and department chair. Only 17 percent of the women did. Thirty-eight percent of the men and 48 percent of the women came from the ranks above that level. When one adds percentages for collateral positions above the rank of department chair -- assistants to presidents, deans of students and the like -- the figures for applicants above the department chair level are 42 percent for the men and 62 percent for the women.

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* Including for the men, assistants to the president, a dean of students, a director of public relations, a director of buildings and grounds, etc.; for the women, a dean of women, two assistant deans, an assistant associate dean, a director of research, etc.

Some interesting points emerge when one compares the positions held by the nominees for the presidency with those held by applicants for the deanship. Male presidential nominees were largely persons already holding presidential or vice-presidential positions; male dean applicants were largely those who had not held a dean's position. Yet female nominees and female applicants (42 percent of the nominees and 39 percent of the applicants) drew largely from the same positions in middle administration. Those percentages are greater when figures for collateral administration are included. No doubt these represent the administrative positions, if any, held by women in academia.

Differing degree completion patterns for the two searches raise another interesting issue. Women presidential nominees completed their degrees at a somewhat more rapid rate than the men, the women dean's applicants at a slower rate. A large factor here may be perception of competence, with presidential nominators seeing rapid advance, through whatever paths toward whatever goals, as proof of ability. Two other factors appear to operate but are difficult to document because illustrative information was not consistently reported. Few female nominees for the presidential post gave evidence of having been married. Many of the applicants for the dean's position, judging from direct statement and from career patterns interrupted by long periods of time outside academia, seem to have married. Many listed a sequence of experiences, for example, reporting, running for political office, managing a book store, that followed no distinct career path. Similar kinds of periods outside of academia appeared on the vitae of the small group of presidential nominees we labeled eclectic. This group, too, was made up largely of married women who spent longer than average periods completing their degrees.

Another factor related to the women's degree completion pattern seems to have been the quality of the degree pursued. We have avoided tabulating this information because of the problem of making precise distinctions among institutions. Nevertheless, it is our impression, after sifting half a dozen times through the information in both sets of vitae, that the women were much more likely than the men to have done their work at a more demanding institution -- at an Ivy League school, one of the seven sisters, or one of the major state universities. Degrees from such places as Idaho University, Kent State, and the University of Arkansas were more likely to show up on the men's vitae, especially those of men holding education degrees, in all administrative and professorial ranks.

We believe that the slightly older group of women who had taken longer in attaining a degree and who applied for the dean's position differed significantly from the younger, more quickly qualified female presidential nominees principally in marital background. They certainly did not differ as significantly as they should have in terms of highest position attained. When the two groups of figures for degree completion times are combined, women appear to take consistently longer:

Period of Time Between B.A. and Ph.D. Completion: All Vitae

	Male	Female
1-5 years	22%	11%
6-10 years	41%	48%
11-15 years	28%	22%
16-20 years	6%	9%
20+ years	4%	9%

But this combination obscures what is, in the case of these vitae, and what may be for women academics generally, an essentially bi-modal pattern. Male ambition seems to appear on these vitae as youth and aggressiveness; female ambition as tenacity and hard work.

The same six background fields predominating in presidential vitae account for most of those listed on the dean's applications, but in somewhat different proportions:

Background Fields, Dean Applicants

	Male		Female	
Political science	6		1	
Religion	9		0	
Education	47		7	
Law	3		0	
English	17		6	
History	9		7	
	91	75%	21	72%

Psychology and the natural sciences were also significant.

	Male		Female	
Psychology	9	7%	2	5%
Natural & physical sciences	10	8%	4	11%

Men, in this instance, however, listed more and different fields than the women (19 fields for the men, 15 for the women), with library science, child guidance, and physical education unrepresented for men; Spanish, biology, international studies, American studies, law, religion, and philosophy unrepresented for women. Again, the extreme youth and

ambition for some of the men in the dean's search seem to account for the reversed proportions. One young man, having served as an instructor while completing a degree in education, was willing to move directly into the duties of the deanship.

As with the vitae for the presidential post, vitae for the dean's position showed men to have a larger number of double degrees, with education, law and religion being those most frequently combined. Education was the field appearing most frequently combined with others on the women's vitae.

Because the vitae for the dean's post were less standardized than those for the presidential search, statistical patterns for non-academic civic and professional responsibilities cannot be tabulated. The kinds of activities listed on the applications differed significantly, however, from those listed for presidential nominees. Few directorships, trusteeships, or officers in educational organizations appeared on the vitae. Both men and women, primarily those with education and psychology degrees, listed large numbers of consultantships, men listing 14 consultantships for business, insurance companies, industries and banks, and women listing only 2 business consultantships. The majority of consultantships were with government organizations.

Men listed a substantial number of kinds of activities that women did not, notably military service, men's clubs (Kiwanis, Rotary, Optimist, Elks), and civic fund raising (United Fund, etc.). Some of the men's listings were strikingly singular — Toastmasters International, the American Institute of Parliamentarians, a chess club, a country club, and the presidency for 10 consecutive years of a seminary class. Women's

listings were more standard -- consultantships, professional associations, civic organizations, churches and political parties. The only kind of entry present for women but absent for men were activities in women's rights groups and in women's professional organizations, such as A.A.U.W.

Eleven of the women but only two of the men listed publications and activities concerned with the status and education of women.

Career patterns. Again, the most interesting differentiations on the men's and women's vitae were the career patterns. All of the four patterns identified in examining vitae for the presidential nominees appeared on the vitae submitted to the dean's committee, although they appeared in different proportions. And again, the difference in proportion seems explained by the self-selection of the applicants. In this second group of vitae, however, submitted in response to advertisement for an academic dean, an interesting sub-pattern emerged.

To review the patterns present on the presidential vitae, we found:

I. Direct advancement through the academic ranks, a pattern appearing on 48 percent of the men's vitae and 4 percent of the women's.

II. Early entry into collateral academic ranks following little or no teaching experience, with regular advancement in rank, thereafter. Forty-two percent of the men and 8 percent of the women followed this pattern, a pattern most frequently associated with offices in small colleges and with background degrees in political science, law, and religion.

III. A period of college teaching followed by advancement up the collateral academic ranks of a single institution, with occasional shifts into the top administrative levels of other institutions. Forty percent of the women's vitae followed this pattern.

IV. A period of college teaching followed by frequent shifts in employing institution and in type of posts (both academic and collateral) with regular advancement in rank.

On the vitae submitted for the dean's search these patterns showed up in these proportions:

Career Patterns, Dean Applicants

	Male (95)	Female (29)
I. Direct administration	64%	31%
II. Collateral administration*	20%	7%
III. Institution sponsorship	0	14%
IV. Zigzagging	0	31%
Other	16%	7%

The sub-pattern presented on these vitae appeared primarily for pattern I, direct progress up the professorial ladder into academic administration; 36 percent of the men and 75 percent of the women in pattern I (or 23 percent and 31 percent of the respective totals) followed a stepping stone pattern, changing institutions three or more times in the course of their careers and advancing in rank with each move. This sub-pattern of following institutional stepping stones also appears in pattern II. Men following the stepping stone sub-pattern in pattern II differ from the women in pattern IV, however, in that the men lack significant teaching experience. One man, for example, in the group followed this path to become a college president at the age of 47:

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* Forty-seven percent of these held degrees in religion or theology.

first institution	instructor
second institution	assistant director of student union to director of student activities
third institution	co-ordinator of student services to dean of student services
fourth institution	president, community college

He held degrees in English and education.

The vitae for the five finalists for the dean's search remarkably reflected the general averages.

	Male	Female
Ages:	39-50	45-57
Positions:	Acting chairman director of public relations dean	associate dean associate dean
Fields:	history psychology biology	history English
Career patterns:	I I + stepping stone I	IV III

The women finalists were in their 40's, as were the largest number of female applicants. Both were from middle ranks of administration and both had majored in the fields listed by 45 percent of the female applicants: one, following a period of teaching, had moved up through the ranks of a single institution. The other, following a period of teaching in two colleges, moved into academic administration, then into collateral administration at a third college, then back into academic administration at a fourth. The male finalists included a young assistant professor with an acting chairmanship, an older, experienced dean, and a former college dean who had recently become a director of public relations. Until this last post, his career had followed the pattern of academic stepping stones. Careers of the other male finalists followed pattern I.

Unlike the interviewees for the presidential search, the finalists for the dean's search included three candidates, both women and one man, with a background in women's education.

Summary. As we have seen, 48 percent of the men represented on the presidential vitae and 64 percent of the men represented on the deanship vitae followed career pattern I; 42 percent of the presidential nominees and 20 percent of the dean applicants followed career pattern II. Thus, 90 percent and 84 percent, respectively, of the vitae for the men showed standard patterns. Moreover, for a large number of the men, pursuit of these career paths had already brought them to the rank for which they were nominated or applying (55 percent of the nominees and 18 percent of the applicants).

A concomitant element in both masculine career patterns is a record of non-academic responsibilities entailing financial and community decision making. Women with a record of such responsibilities in their professional lives seldom listed them as outside activities.

When the final selections were made, a president was chosen whose career might form the archetype for career pattern II, the pattern most associated with small college presidencies. He held degrees in law and divinity, had no teaching experience, had begun as assistant to the president of a small college, and had moved up the ranks of collateral administration to three consecutive presidencies, interrupted by a period as head of an educational organization. An academic dean was chosen whose career conformed to pattern I, the most standard career pattern on both sets of vitae. He had moved steadily up the professional ranks to become, first, department chair, then acting dean, then dean.

The search process. Many members we have interviewed from both search committees are securely convinced that no question of prejudice toward women operated in these final selections. On the contrary, they point to efforts at finding a qualified woman as distinguishing characteristics of their searches, regardless of whether the effort was openly avowed. The women, though good, simply were not perceived to be the best persons for the jobs because they did not have the best credentials. Others regard interpretation of credentials as competence to be one of the forms that prejudice takes. All five of those we interviewed, however, and one member from the search committee for a library director, agreed that the following steps characterized each of the three search processes.

1. In the early stages of vitae sifting, partly as a result of the effort to find women candidates, women were compared to women and men were compared to men.
2. Invariably, one woman, in the eyes of the committee, outshone all other women, and became, in the words of one committee member, "the standard by which all other women were judged"; such clear preferences did not emerge for any of the male candidates.
3. A single criterion regarding the desired background of the candidate, a criterion that did not appear on announced job descriptions, became one of the committee's top priorities by the end of the search process. In the case of the presidential committee, the emergent qualification was fund-raising experience; for the dean's committee the qualification was experience outside the appointing college; for

the library committee it was the desirability of an advanced degree in an academic field. In each case the emergent criterion was a credential rather than a competence. (Candidates who appeared among the finalists for all three positions presumably never would have applied if these criteria had been made known to them at the outset.)

4. In reading vitae, committee members assumed that to have performed a function presupposed having performed it well. To have been a dean implied having been a good dean. (All committee members agreed that letters of recommendation had only a negative weight; they might have hurt but never helped a candidate because they were uniformly full of standard praise.)

Committee members for the presidential search committee and the dean's search committee also agreed that the method of numerically weighted voting, by which these two committees took their final votes on recommendations, gave unwarranted strength to "second and third choices" who might otherwise not have counted as "chosen" at all.

In all three searches, the men who were finally chosen met the committee's newly-developed criteria and emerged from the voting process among favored candidates.

Conclusions and recommendations. Our review of the search processes suggests how it may happen that affirmative action goals, coupled with standard career expectations, ultimately damage female candidates.

1. The tendency to compare women with women and men with men in the early stages of the process obscures the obligation to match candidates against the requirements of the post.

2. Meanwhile, male vitae establish patterns from which women's vitae appear deviant.
3. The late emergence of unannounced criteria, following review of vitae, deflects committee attention from candidates' fulfillment of announced criteria.
4. Since the emergent criterion is a credential, it devalues the credentials of female finalists. In each of the three searches reported here, the women who "became the standard by which all other women were judged" lacked the emergent criterion.
5. The presupposition that to have performed a function indicates having performed it well operates in favor of male candidates because male credentials have become the standard.

As it happens, each of the two men who filled the top executive positions for which these searches were conducted came from colleges that had closed. It is probably not true that the colleges closed because these chief executives performed poorly. Nevertheless, we find it inconceivable that women candidates with the same administrative histories could have received favorable consideration from the committees or from the appointing bodies.

It appears that the women received careful scrutiny as "women" candidates, and their deviant career patterns emphasized their deviance as candidates; the men were not so much "men" candidates as they were professional administrators looking for a job. In the end their professional patterns were read as proof of competence.

Because of the length of time that has elapsed since the presidential search, we have objective bases for saying that some women's credentials submitted for that search, while less impressive as career patterns, indicated impressive competencies. Three of the women considered have since become college presidents, one via career pattern III, two via career pattern IV. (In fact, our research suggests that career pattern IV is the most promising for a woman.) Of these women, one has improved the prospects for survival of her institution by increasing enrollment, balancing the budget, and raising faculty salaries. Another has achieved recognition for courageous and imaginative administrative reorganization at a large institution.

The question is whether it is possible for search committees to discover the competencies masked by credentials. Perhaps it is not. Still, based on the experiences of this institution, we make the following recommendations to search committees with affirmative action goals:

1. If committee objectives are to find candidates with specific experiential backgrounds look for evidence of <u>doing</u> rather than being.*
2. Avoid developing last-minute criteria for the post by giving careful consideration to the actual functions of the position before writing a job description.
3. Write job descriptions carefully in terms of competencies required and solicit applications written to give evidence of functions performed. Standard "positions held" vitae evolve from male career patterns and show those to advantage,

obscuring records of both successful and unsuccessful functioning.*

4. Make extensive personal contacts, by visit or phone, with those who know the candidate; performance in interviewing situations can be deceptive and letters of recommendation have blanket rather than specific credibility. (We do not believe that the intervention of the Academy for Educational Development between the committee and the candidates was ultimately helpful to our institution.)
5. Write up final recommendations in terms of initial criteria, reflecting the full range of committee opinions. "A commitment to the basic philosophy of women's education" simply disappeared from the criteria in our presidential search.
6. If a record of academic achievement is a criterion for the post, read the research reported. Two of our interviewees reported that research titles dealing with women's issues were perceived as trivial by committee members, whereas other titles were accepted as substantive on the basis of listing alone.

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* Here we echo Garry D. Hays, Chancellor of the Minnesota State University System, who, in a paper entitled "Strategies for Advancing Women in Higher Education Administration," suggests that "rather than ranking candidates or making a recommendation, committee members should be expected to provide individual evaluations of a candidate's competencies in relation to those required for the particular job.... A second change in the traditional search that is helpful in attracting, evaluating, and appointing women candidates is to describe a position more in terms of competencies required and less in terms of traditional educational experience and training." Dr. Hays presented the paper to the Bryn Mawr/HERS Summer Institute for Women in Higher Education Administration, July, 1978, and it was reprinted in Project on the Status of Education of Women, September, 1978.

7. If committee objectives are truly to find the best person for the job, look for qualities of person. To borrow a phrase from the Bakke decision, "...such qualities could include exceptional personal talents, unique work or service experience, leadership potential, maturity, demonstrated compassion, a history of overcoming disadvantage, ability to communicate..."[6] "Looking for a woman" may produce many female candidates but give those candidates the disadvantage of being ignored as persons.

8. Avoid judging candidates by double standards. We have not recorded the kinds of personal remarks search committee members made about candidates. Judgments of personality and appearance, however, inevitably play a part, however covert, in the selection processes. According to our interviewees, both lack of and excess of femininity worked against female candidates. Women candidates in academia face the same double bind encountered by women candidates everywhere. A woman candidate cannot be aggressive, forceful and decisive and be acceptable as a woman; she cannot be too feminine and give evidence of ability to function in a role that has been reserved for men.

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[6] "Text of the Opinion by Justice Powell," The Chronicle of Higher Education, July 3, 1978, p. 6, col. 5.

April 26, 1974

All Members of the ·Community:

Members of the Presidential Search Committee are looking for the best president available, hopefully a woman, for College. We can achieve our objective only with the best thinking of all interested members of the College Community. The greater number of names we have to review, the better our chances are of finding the right president.

Qualifications identified by the search committee for this chief executive role should include a strong academic background, proven administrative competence, the ability to inspire financial support, an aptitude for determining goals and initiating change, and, above all, a commitment to the basic philosophy of women's education and development at Stephens College.

Will you please send to the undersigned at
by the middle of May if possible, your suggestions of persons who should be considered as candidates and evaluated against the above criteria. Names can also be given to any member of the search committee.

The board must ultimately make the final choice, but we don't want to overlook any potential candidate in the search.

Thank you for your help.

Sincerely,

Chairman of the
Presidential Search Committee

is an undergraduate residential women's college in
Its residential student body of 1600 includes young women from 47 states and 12 foreign countries. In addition some 600 students living throughout the country are enrolled in its continuing education programs.
college committed to the Liberal and Fine arts, encouraging cross-disciplinary inquiry.

JOB DESCRIPTION

The Vice President reports directly to the president, participates in long-range planning of the College, serves as a member of the Administrative Council, works closely with the Vice President and Dean of Student Life, and serves as an ex-officio member of various Boards and Committees within the Faculty Governance structure. S/he is also a non-voting member of the faculty.

The Dean of the Faculty is primarily responsible for the leadership of the Academic program. S/he works with the Department heads to articulate and implement the goals of the College. The Dean also participates in: Planning academic programs, preparing and supervising the academic budget, facilitating communication among the faculty, hiring, retaining and evaluating faculty, and supporting the highest academic competence and professional development of the faculty.

QUALIFICATIONS

The Vice President and Dean of the Faculty should have an earned doctorate in a recognized academic field or should be an experienced and competent teacher, show record of scholarship or professional achievement, and have successful experience in education administration. S/he must have a commitment to academic excellence and the sensitivity and leadership necessary for working with faculty, staff and students in order to achieve that excellence. Although this is not a tenurable position, we expect candidates to have the qualifications that would warrant a grant of tenure in a department.

This is a 12 month position available July 15. Salary and prerequisites are competitive and negotiable. Letters of application, vita, official transcript and written recommendations from at least three individuals (mailed directly to the Committee) should be sent by February 15, 1978.

Applications should be sent to:

An equal opportunity, affirmative action employer

Name of Candidate _____
File Number _____

EVALUATION FORM

Qualifications

Doctorate: yes_____ no_____ Area_____

Teaching Experience: extensive some none

Publications: many some none

Administrative experience: Type_____
How Long _____

Experience with Finance: What type_____

Grants Experience: What type_____

Does the candidate's background indicate interest and/or experience in:

Women's Education _____
Liberal Arts _____
Fine Arts _____
Sciences _____

References: excellent good fair

Noteworthy comments _____
_____

Candidate's letter and/or statement:

Any noteworthy remarks _____

Further Information needed about: _____
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Remarks: _____
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